

Policy and Justice:

A N

1508/566.

E S S A Y.

B E I N G

A Propofal for Augmenting the
Power, and Wealth of Great-
Britain, by UNITING Ireland.

Vis unita fortior.

“ That Government which takes in the Consent
“ of the greatest Number of People, and con-
“ sequently their Defires and Resolutions to
“ Support it, may justly be said to have the
“ broadest Bottom.”

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

D U B L I N:

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POLICY and JUSTICE:

A N

ESSAY.

NOTHING is more necessary towards compleating, and continuing the Well-being of Mankind, than their preserving Friendships, and Alliances: The Safety of a Government depends chiefly upon this, and therefore it is weakened, and exposed to its Enemies, in proportion as it is divided by *Parties*: A Kingdom divided against itself, is brought to Desolation.

A 2

These

These Islands, *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, ought to be considered as one Nation and Kingdom; and that they are not United in the other two Branches of the Legislature, and thereby a sound *Constitution* formed, has been owing to the Want of *Virtue* in the Members, and not the Want of Ability to accomplish it.

The Renowned *Spencer*, who was no less qualified for the Business of the State; than for the Entertainment of the Muses, (being appointed Secretary to Lord *Grey*, who was created Deputy of *Ireland* in 1580) in his Discourse, Intituled, *A View of the State of Ireland*, written Dialogue-wise between *Eudoxus* and *Ireneus*, introduces it thus:

‘ *Eudox.* But if that Country of
 ‘ *Ireland*, whence you lately came,
 ‘ be of so good, and commodious a
 ‘ Soil as you report, I wonder that
 ‘ no Course is taken for the turning
 ‘ thereof



‘ thereof to good Uses, and reduce-
 ‘ ing that Nation to better Govern-
 ‘ ment, and Civility.’

‘ *Iren.* Marry so there have been
 ‘ good Plots devised, and wise Coun-
 ‘ cils cast already about Reformation
 ‘ of that Realm: But they say it is
 ‘ the fatal Destiny of that Land,
 ‘ that no purposes whatsoever which
 ‘ are meant for her Good, will prosper
 ‘ or take good Effect; which, whe-
 ‘ ther it proceed from the very Geni-
 ‘ us of the Soil, or Influence of the
 ‘ Stars, or that Almighty God has
 ‘ not yet appointed the Time of her
 ‘ Reformation, or that He reserveth
 ‘ Her in this unquiet State, still for
 ‘ some secret Scourge, which shall
 ‘ by Her come unto *England*, it is
 ‘ hard to be known, yet much to be
 ‘ feared.

‘ *Eudox.* Surely I suppose this
 ‘ but a vain Conceit of simple Men
 ‘ which Judge Things by their Ef-
 ‘ fects,

fects, and not by their Causes ; for
 I would rather think, the Cause of
 this Evil, which hangeth upon
 that Country, to proceed rather
 from the unsoundness of the Councils,
 and Plots which you say have often-
 times been laid for the Reformati-
 on, or of Faintness in following and
 effecting the same, &c.

By this we find the same Com-
 plaints were made as to the Backward-
 ness of the Improvement of *Ireland*,
 near 200 Years ago, which subsist
 to this Day.

The Ingenious Pens which have
 been employed upon this Subject, de-
 monstrate, that the Union of *Ireland*
 with *Great-Britain*, would promote
 the general Welfare of both ; so that
Interest and *Policy*, as well as *Justice*
 and *Reason*, stand up for it.

Perhaps there never was a Season
 more proper for this Matter to be
 brought upon the Tapis, than the
 present ;

present ; when a new *British* Senate has been lately called, (and except a very few, with the most extraordinary Unanimity chosen,) composed of Men of the first Rank, for *Virtue*, *Parliamentary* Experience, Abilities, and Fortune, and also of a considerable Number of Merchants, whose Commercial Knowledge added, must make this the most fit House of Commons for the Affair of a Union to be discussed in : Beside, the present Circumstances of Affairs in *Ireland*, make this the most eligible Time for a Union to take Place, as it may be the Means of conciliating the Minds of His Majesty's Subjects, and make that Country happy, instead of encouraging our natural Enemies, the French, to invade *Ireland* at a Season when the Protestants thereof are divided; upon this Head, Sir *William Temple* in his Essay upon popular Discontent, observes, ' A weak,
' or

‘ or unequal Faction in any State,
 ‘ may serve to enliven, or animate
 ‘ the Vigour of a Government, but
 ‘ when it grows Equal, or near Pro-
 ‘ portional in Strength, or Number,
 ‘ and Irreconcilable by the Ani-
 ‘ mosity of the Parties, it cannot end
 ‘ without some Violent Crisis, and
 ‘ Convulsion of the State, and hard-
 ‘ ly without some new Revolution,
 ‘ and perhaps final Ruin of the
 ‘ Government, in Case a foreign In-
 ‘ vasion enters upon the Breaches of
 ‘ Civil Distractions :——I shall here
 ‘ only regret one unhappy Effect of
 ‘ our Discontents and Divisions, that
 ‘ will ever attend them even when
 ‘ they are not Violent or Dangerous
 ‘ enough to disturb our Peace ;
 ‘ which is, that they divert our great-
 ‘ est Councils from falling upon the
 ‘ Consultations and pursuits of seve-
 ‘ ral Acts and Institutions which
 ‘ seem to be the most useful, and
 ‘ necessary

‘ necessary for the common Interest,
 ‘ and public-good of the Kingdom,
 ‘ without regard to any Partialities,
 ‘ which busy the Councils as well as
 ‘ Actions of all factious Times.’

I am aware, that the Subject of a Union is of so complicated a Nature, that it requires a perfect Knowledge of the Constitution, Laws, Trade, present Condition, the proportion of People and Wealth, and an Acquaintance with the Nature, and Genius of each Kingdom, &c. Leaving these Difficulties to be decided by the Parliaments, and Commissioners, who must be best capable of the Task, I will in a few Lines (by way of Advertisement) deliver the Thoughts of a private Person, who is an *Anglo-Hibernian*, having a property in both Kingdoms, without a Design of serving himself, or hurting any one: A Person in such a situation, may treat upon this Matter, as he can view Things with an Impartial Eye, being clear of Prejudices.

It may be unnecessary to enter into a minute Disquisition of the Advantages of a Union: The Fable of the Old Man producing the Bundle of Rods to his Sons, is a fit Emblem upon this Occasion; also, it is to be remembered, That the Strength of the *Romans* was greatly encreased by their Union with the *Sabines*, upon which the Comitium or Councils of the two Nations was created, that the *Senates* of each might assemble together, as *Livy* relates.

The Opinions of Sir *John Davis*, Sir *William Petty*, the *English* Translator in his Preface to *Hottoman's Franco-Gallia*, Mr. *Molyneux*, Sir *Matthew Decker*, Governor *Dobbs*, and others who have considered the Subject of a Union, and discussed the Points relative thereto, with such Ability, are Authorities so great, and their Arguments so demonstrably strong, that I do rely upon these Propositions, *viz.*

First, That a Union of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, is the most likely Way
to

to pay off the National Debt, and reduce the Taxes of *England*.

Secondly, That *Ireland*, by a Union, will become a flourishing Nation, instead of being again a *Burthen* upon *England*; as by a Union, Popery may be eradicated by the Industry of the People, more effectually than by any († *unexecuted*) Laws.

Thirdly, That in Consequence, the Common-welfare of these three Kingdoms, (whose Interest ought to be Inseparable) will be encreased; by opening a Free Trade, the Poor will be employed, and Commerce will flourish upon the Destruction of the *French* Trade, and other Rivals: The British Empire also will be exalted, and thereby Her Colonies, and Settlements abroad secured.

B 3

In

† Our Laws are good, but ill executed, and a Law not executed is worse than no Law at all, therefore cannot be good, for the Weakness of a Law appearing by its being evaded, make the People have a mean Opinion of the Legislature, and brings a Contempt on our Laws in General. A Law that by its Rewards and Punishments, does not enforce Obedience to its Commands, is in Effect no Law at all.

In support of what I have advanced, I beg leave to make a Quotation from each of those great Men's Writings, whom I just named; and first Sir *John Davis*, Attorney General of *Ireland* to King *James I.* in his *Historical Relations*, says, ' This then I note——If the
 ' *English* would neither in Peace govern
 ' them by the Law, nor could in War
 ' root them out by the Sword, they
 ' must needs be Pricks in their Eyes,
 ' and Thorns in their Sides till the
 ' World's End, and so the Conquest ne-
 ' ver be brought to Perfection:——If
 ' there had been no Difference made
 ' between the Nations, in point of Jus-
 ' tice and Protection, but all had been
 ' governed by one equal, just and hon-
 ' ourable Law, as *Dido* speaketh in *Vir-*
 ' *gil*, *Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine*
 ' *Habetur*. Assuredly, the *Irish* Coun-
 ' tries, had long since been reformed,
 ' and reduced to Peace, Plenty, and
 ' Civility: which are the Effect of Laws
 ' and good Government. They had
 ' builded

‘ builded Houses, planted Orchards
 ‘ and Gardens, erected Townships, and
 ‘ made Provision for their Posterities ;
 ‘ there had been a perfect *Union* of
 ‘ the two Nations, and consequently a
 ‘ perfect Conquest of *Ireland* : For the
 ‘ Conquest is never perfect, till the War
 ‘ be at an end, and the War is not at an
 ‘ end, till there be Peace and Unity,
 ‘ and there cannot be Unity and Con-
 ‘ cord in any one Kingdom, but where
 ‘ there is but one King, one Allegiance,
 ‘ and one Law.’

The next Authority I have to intro-
 duce, is Sir *William Petty*, who was the
 Inventor of a new Method of applying
 Arithmetic to Doctrines of great Im-
 portance to the *English* Crown, and
 Nation, and must be allowed to be
 equally a good Judge of the public In-
 terest, and his own ; in his Discourse,
 intituled *Political Arithmetic*, Chap. 5.
 ‘ That the Impediments to *England*’s
 ‘ Greatness are but contingent, and re-
 ‘ moveable. In the Articles of the first
 ‘ Impediment,

‘ Impediment, he instances——That
 ‘ there be three distinct Legislative
 ‘ Powers in *England, Scotland and Ire-*
 ‘ *land*; the which instead of Uniting
 ‘ together, do often cross one another’s
 ‘ Interest, putting Barrs, and Impedi-
 ‘ ments upon one another’s Trades, not
 ‘ only as if they were Foreigners to one
 ‘ another, but sometimes as Enemies.

‘ A second Impediment to the Great-
 ‘ nefs of *England*, is the different Un-
 ‘ derstanding several material Points,
 ‘ viz. of the King’s Prerogative, Privi-
 ‘ ledges of Parliament, the obscure Dif-
 ‘ ference between Law, and Equity ; as
 ‘ also between civil and ecclesiastical
 ‘ Jurifdictions, Doubts whether the
 ‘ the Kingdom of *England* has Power
 ‘ over the Kingdom of *Ireland*, besides,
 ‘ the wonderful Paradox, that *English-*
 ‘ *men* lawfully sent to suppress Rebellions
 ‘ in *Ireland*, should after having effect-
 ‘ ed the same, be as it were disfranchif-
 ‘ ed, and lose that Interest in the Legi-
 ‘ flative Power, which they had in
 ‘ *England*;

‘ *England* ; and pay Customs as Fo-
 ‘ reigners, for all they spend in *Ireland*,
 ‘ whither they were sent for the Honour
 ‘ and Benefit of *England*.

‘ The third Impediment is, that
 ‘ *Ireland* being a conquered Country,
 ‘ and containing not the tenth part as
 ‘ many *Irish* Natives, as there are *En-*
 ‘ *glish* in both Kingdoms, that natural
 ‘ and firm Union is not made between
 ‘ the two Peoples, by Transplantations,
 ‘ and proportionable Mixtures, so that
 ‘ there may be but a tenth Part of the
 ‘ *Irish* in *Ireland*, and the same Pro-
 ‘ portion in *England* ; whereby the
 ‘ Necessity of maintaining an Army in
 ‘ *Ireland*, at the Expence of a quarter
 ‘ of all the Rents in that Kingdom,
 ‘ may be taken away. Sir *William*
 ‘ *Petty*, then asks this Question, *viz.*
 ‘ May not the three Kingdoms be
 ‘ United into one, and equally repre-
 ‘ sented in Parliament ? which is an-
 ‘ swered in the Affirmative, if it be so
 ‘ thought fit by the Sovereign Power,
 ‘ because

‘ because the like has often been done
 ‘ already, at several Places, and
 ‘ Times.’

The next Evidence to be produced in Favour of a Union is the Translator of *Hottoman's Franco-Gallia*, who is known to be the late (*Robert*) Lord *Molesworth*, one who distinguished himself in the Service of his Country, both as a public Minister abroad, (being Ambassador extraordinary from King *William*, at the Court of *Denmark*,) and at Home, as a powerful Advocate in the *Senate*, for the Liberties of his Country, at a dangerous time. His Protrait is well expressed by himself, in his *Preface* to *Franco-Gallia*, an Extract from which, I beg Leave to transcribe.—‘ No Man
 ‘ can be a sincere Lover of Liberty,
 ‘ that is not for encreasing and communicating that Blessing to all People; and therefore the giving or restoring it not only to our Brethren
 ‘ of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but even to
 ‘ *France* itself (were it in our Power) is
 ‘ one

‘ one of the principal Articles of
 ‘ Whiggism.’

‘ The Ease and Advantage which
 ‘ would be gained by Uniting our own
 ‘ three Kingdoms upon equal Terms,
 ‘ (for upon unequal Terms it would be
 ‘ no Union) is so visible, That if we
 ‘ had not the Example of those
 ‘ Masters of the World, the *Romans*,
 ‘ one would wonder that our own
 ‘ Experience in the Instance of Uniting
 ‘ *Wales* to *England*, should not con-
 ‘ vince us, that although both Sides
 ‘ would incredibly gain by it, yet the
 ‘ rich and opulent Country, to which
 ‘ such an Addition is made, would be
 ‘ the greater Gainer.

‘ ’Tis so much more desiræable and
 ‘ secure to govern by Love and com-
 ‘ mon Interest, than by Force ; to ex-
 ‘ pect Comfort and Assistance in Times
 ‘ of Danger from our next Neighbours,
 ‘ than to find them at such a Time, a
 ‘ heavy Clog upon the Wheels of our
 ‘ Government, and to be in dread least

‘ they should take that Occasion to
 ‘ shake off an uneasy Yoke : Or to have
 ‘ as much need of entertaining a Stand-
 ‘ ing Army against our Brethren, as a-
 ‘ gainst our known and inveterate Ene-
 ‘ mies ; That certainly whoever can op-
 ‘ pose so public and apparent Good,
 ‘ must be esteemed either Ignorant to a
 ‘ strange Degree, or to have other De-
 ‘ signs in View, which he would not
 ‘ willingly have brought to Light’.

The next Author to be quoted, is
 Mr. *Molyneux*, whose Writings made a
 great Noise in the World. Though I
 don’t approve of the Principles of his
 Book in general, as I by no Means
 would choose to adopt that of the In-
 dependency of *Ireland* ; yet as to the parti-
 cular Point in Hand, he must be allowed
 to be clear and right in what he says.

*Extract from Mr. Molyneux’s Case of
 Ireland being bound in Acts of Par-
 liament in England.*

‘ There have been other Statutes,
 ‘ and Ordinances made in *England*, for
 ‘ *Ireland*,

Ireland, which may reasonably be of
 Force here, because they were made,
 and Assented to by our own Repre-
 sentatives: Thus we find in the white
 Book of the Exchequer in *Dublin*, in
 the Ninth Year of *Edward I.* a
 Writ was sent to his Chancellor of
Ireland, wherein he mentions, *Quæ-*
dam Statuta per nos de Assensu Præ-
latorum, Comitum, Baronum, &
Communitates Regni Nostri Hiberniæ,
nuper apud Lincoln, & quædam alia
Statuta post modum apud Eborum
facta. These we may suppose, were
 either Statutes made at the Request
 of the States of *Ireland*, to explain to
 them the common Law of *England*,
 or if they were Introductive of new
 Laws, yet they might well be of Force
 in *Ireland*, because enacted by the
 Assent of our own Representatives,
 the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
 and Commons of *Ireland*.—For we
 find that in the Reign of *Edward*
 III. (and by what foregoes, it was

' plain it was so in *Edward* I's. Time,)
 ' Knights of the Shire, Citizens and
 ' Burgeffes, were elected in the Shires,
 ' Cities and Boroughs of *Ireland*, to
 ' serve in Parliament in *England*, and
 ' have so served accordingly. For a-
 ' mong the Records of the Tower of
 ' *London*, we find a Writ from the
 ' King at *Westminster*, directed to *James*
 ' *Butler*, Lord Justice of *Ireland*, and
 ' to *R.* Archbishop of *Dublin*, his
 ' Chancellor, requiring them to issue
 ' Writs under the Great Seal of *Ireland*,
 ' to the several Counties, Cities and Bo-
 ' roughs, for satisfying the Expences of
 ' the Men of that Land, who last came
 ' over to serve in Parliament in *Eng-*
 ' *land*.

' And in another Roll, 50 *Edward*
 ' *III.* on complaint to the King, by
 ' *John Draper*, who was chosen Bur-
 ' gess of *Corke* by Writ, and served in
 ' the Parliament of *England*, and yet
 ' was denied his Expences by some of
 ' the Citizens; Care was taken to re-
 ' imburse

‘ imburse him.—If from these last
 ‘ mentioned Records, it be concluded,
 ‘ that the Parliament may bind *Ireland*;
 ‘ it must also be allowed, that the Peo-
 ‘ ple of *Ireland*, ought to have their
 ‘ Representatives in the Parliament of
 ‘ *England*. And this I believe we should
 ‘ be willing enough to embrace; but this
 ‘ is an *Happiness* we can hardly hope
 ‘ for.

The next in order, that I must have
 Recourse to, is Sir *Matthew Decker*, in
 his *Essay on the Causes of the Decline of
 the Foreign Trade*, by which we may
 observe Sir *Matthew* has happily united
 the Theory and Practice of his Profession
 together, and has pointed out the true
 Interest of the Nation, and how it
 ought to be pursued, by shewing the
 strong Connection there is between Land
 and Trade, which he proves to be
 founded on the Reason and Nature of
 Commerce: His third Proposal for im-
 proving the great natural Advantages
England enjoys is this;

Third

Third Proposal, To abolish Monopolies, *Unite Ireland*, and put all the Subjects of these three Kingdoms on the same Footing in Trade.

‘ By an Union with *Ireland*, the Taxes on *Britain* will be lessened for the present, whereby they will contribute to make our Goods still cheaper, consequently more vendible.’

‘ The *Irish* now pay no Taxes to the general, but only to their private Support ; whereas the greater the Number of People are, by whom a Sum is to be raised, the lighter it falls on each. And the more the *Irish* flourish on the Destruction of the *French* Trade, the more would they be enabled to ease the Taxes of the People in general ; whereby all being on the same happy Footing, no Discontent could arise, but a general Improvement spread over the three Kingdoms, without Prejudice to each other.

‘ As

‘ As it will encrease Trade,
 ‘ It will employ the Poor,
 ‘ It will encrease the Stock of People,
 ‘ It will encrease our Riches.
 ‘ By opening the Trade of *Ireland*,
 ‘ which Country being too poor to give
 ‘ it the extent it is capable of, must
 ‘ therefore be carried on by *English*
 ‘ Stocks; consequently a great Part of
 ‘ the Profit of it must fall into the
 ‘ Hands of the *English* Merchants:
 ‘ Add to which, that above one third
 ‘ of what *Ireland* gets, is sent here for
 ‘ Goods, or spent by Absentees; there-
 ‘ fore the richer *Ireland* grows, the
 ‘ richer must *Britain* become; there-
 ‘ fore it will encrease the Value of our
 ‘ Lands.

The last Writer, to be exhibited,
 is Mr. *Dobbs*, now Governor of *North-*
Carolina, who in his *Essay upon the*
Trade and Improvements of Ireland, is
 very exprefs upon this Subject, *viz.*

‘ And all the Favours they (those in
 ‘ Power) shew us, in concurring with, and
 ‘ assisting

‘ assisting us, in the Improvement of
 ‘ *Ireland*, and enabling us to become
 ‘ more Wealthy and Easy, we will
 ‘ gratefully repay, by the Millions we
 ‘ will throw in upon them from
 ‘ the Surplusage of our Industry at
 ‘ Home, and Commerce Abroad.
 ‘ This I am confident, in Time, will
 ‘ encrease the Naval Power and Wealth
 ‘ of *Britain* to that Degree, by the
 ‘ Encrease of its Colonies and Trade
 ‘ Abroad, and by the Protection of its
 ‘ Fleets, that they will think it conve-
 ‘ nient to enlarge the Bottom at Home,
 ‘ and incorporate us with them, there
 ‘ being Trade and Commerce Abroad,
 ‘ sufficient to employ and maintain all
 ‘ the Hands in *Britain* and *Ireland*,
 ‘ were they double what they are.’

‘ As *London* is now opulent and rich,
 ‘ by being the Seat of Empire and Resi-
 ‘ dence of the Court, where all the
 ‘ Men of Fortune and greatest Expence
 ‘ do generally reside, so upon such an
 ‘ Union, *Britain*, as being the Seat of
 ‘ Empire

Empire, would still almost engross
 all the Wealth, perpetually flowing
 from all the distant Members and Colo-
 nies, as from the distant Countries now
 in *London*. This is demonstrably cer-
 tain, that upon an Union with *Eng-
 land*, and enlargement of the Trade
 of *Ireland*, all the acquired Wealth
 that *Ireland* would have from a con-
 stant and regular Employment of
 their industrious Poor, would be
 poured into *England* by the Rich;
 and *Ireland* could never be richer, or
 have more Money than what would
 be sufficient to employ their Poor,
 and circulate their Trade: For as the
 Blood in the natural Body circulates
 through the Heart in greater Quanti-
 ty, and with greater Velocity than
 through the Extrems, so all the
 Wealth of a Nation, through the Ca-
 pital and centre of Empire and Trade.

Thus should *Ireland* encrease upon
 an Union in their Numbers and In-
 dustry, and acquire two Millions from

‘ abroad, more than was sufficient for
 ‘ their home Consumption, at least $\frac{4}{5}$ of
 ‘ this would be carried into *Britain*, by
 ‘ various and many Channels : It can
 ‘ then only proceed from a narrow and
 ‘ selfish way of Thinking, that *Ireland*
 ‘ can ever be supposed to rival *England*
 ‘ in Trade, whilst a Member of their
 ‘ Empire.—Were it in the Hands of
 ‘ a foreign Nation, or had it Extent
 ‘ and Number sufficient to be a State
 ‘ of itself, it would then be a dangerous
 ‘ Rival.—No unprejudiced Man who
 ‘ has the real Security and Strength of
 ‘ the *British* Empire at Heart, but must
 ‘ own that the encouraging *Ireland*, in
 ‘ all the Improvements it is capable of,
 ‘ by adding to its Trade and Wealth,
 ‘ and Uniting its Affections to *Britain*,
 ‘ is doing the greatest Service to the
 ‘ Public; and the closer such Union is
 ‘ made, and the more powerful we
 ‘ grow in *Ireland*, just so much the
 ‘ more is added to the Security, Wealth,
 ‘ Power, and Fame of *Britain*.’

In-

Instead of more Quotations, the Reader is referred for further Satisfaction upon this Subject, to a Pamphlet published in the Year 1706, intitl'd *The Queen, an Empress and her three Kingdoms one Empire : Or, Brief Remarks upon the present, and a Prospect of the future State of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a happy Union*; and to another Pamphlet, call'd, *A Proposal for Unit-ing Great-Britain and Ireland*, published in *Dublin*, in 1751.

Having recited these Quotations, in Support of the Propositions which I have laid down, it remains to deliver a Scheme for a Union.

What is here to be offered, is the Sense of an unbiaſſed Person, who is entirely diſengag'd both in Interest and Opinion from the Parties ſubſiſting among the Proteſtants in *Ireland*: He is at the ſame Time ſatiſfied of his Inability for planning, as he is of the Neceſſity of an Union of both Kingdoms; but as, when any Thing is to be done,

something must be proposed ; he is willing to contribute his Mite upon the Subject ; therefore the following Thoughts, as they occur to Memory, are submitted to Consideration,

1. In case of a Union, it is proposed, that *Ireland* should raise a Tenth for its Proportion of the Supplies : And as it could not be expected, that it should at first bear the weight of the Debt of *Great Britain*, a separate Account to be kept for *Ireland*, till such time as its Circumstances would enable it, or that the National Debt was cleared.

This at first Sight, may appear too much for *Ireland*, but as a compleat Union, among other Benefits, would bring along with it a Reduction of Interest to three *per Cent.* in *Ireland*, (for low Interest, is the *Sine qua non* to the Prosperity and Advancement of the Land and Trade of a Country, which Sir *Josiah Child* has proved in his *Discourse on Trade.*) such a Briskness of Industry, would ensue hereon, that *Ireland* could
not

not only support her own Establishment, but contribute to the general Expence.

2. *Scotland*, at the Union, was rated at a fortieth Part, yet the Representatives of *Scotland*, were settled at a Tenth of the *English* Lords and Commons: Upon this Head, it is proposed, that as there are about two hundred *British* Peers, that *Ireland* may send twenty Temporal, and five Spiritual Lords, (one to be an Archbishop) to represent the Peers of *Ireland* in Parliament.

This may be the Cause of much Satisfaction, in regard to the Jurisdiction of the (*British*) House of Lords; for however right it may be, for the People of *Ireland*, to appeal to that Hereditary Court, whose Decrees are most just; yet, it is apprehended, that there is some Impropriety for *Scotch* Peers to have a Share in judging *Irish* Causes: The Crown of *Ireland* has long since been annexed to the Crown of *England*, but lately when *Scotland* was United,
the

the Consent of Ireland was not obtained as I have heard, so that the Dependence of *Ireland*, is certainly on the Legislature of *England* only.

3. As to the Commons, their Number can scarce be less than 72 or 73: The House of Commons of *Ireland*, consists of 300 Members.

As there are 32 Counties in *Ireland*, the County of *Cork*, (for its Extent and Number of Towns) being allowed 2 Members, which will make 33 Knights of Shires, and as all Towns and Boroughs must have their Right of being represented, preserved; It is proposed to have one Member returned for all the Towns and Boroughs in each County, and one Member likewise for each City, (two for *Dublin*, as it is a Metropolis) and one for *Drogheda* and *Carrickfergus*, alternately, which are Counties within themselves: Thus the People of *Ireland* may be represented in Parliament according to this Plan.

Counties.

Counties.	Cities.	Towns and Boroughs.
Antrim, —	—	Belfast, Antrim, and Randalstown.
Armagh, —	—	Armagh, and Charlemont.
Catherlough, —	—	Catherlough, and Old Leighlin.
Cavan, —	—	Cavan, and Belturbet.
Clare, —	—	Ennis.
		Youghall, Kinsale, Bandon, Mallow, Baltimore, Cloynikelty, Charleville, Castlemartyr, Middleton, Rathcormuck, and Donegall.
Cork, 2. —	City of Cork, —	
Donegal, —	—	Donnegal, St. Johnstown, Ballyshannon, Killibeg Lifford.
Down, —	—	Downpatrick, Killileagh, Newry, Bangor, Newtown, Hillsborough.
Dublin, —	City of Dublin, 2. —	Swords, Newcastle, and the University.
Fermanagh, —	—	Iniskillen.
Galway, —	—	Galway, Athenry, and Tuam.
Kerry, —	—	Dingledecouch, Tralee, and Ardfert.
Kildare, —	—	Kildare, Naas, Athy, and Harristown.
Kilkenny, —	{ City of Kilkenny, and the Irish-town. }	Gowran, Thomastown, Ennisteege, Callen, and Knocktopher.
King's County, —	—	Banagher and Philipstown
Leitrim, —	—	Jamestown, and Carrick.
Limerick, —	City of Limerick. —	Kilmallock, and Askeyton.
Londonderry, —	{ City of Londonderry, }	Colerain, and Newtown-Limvady.
Longford, —	—	Longford, Granard, Lanesborough, and St. Johnstown.
Louth, —	—	Atherdee, Dundalk, Carlingford, and Dunleer.
Mayo, —	—	Castlebar.

Counties.	Cities.	Towns and Boroughs.
Meath, — — — —	— — — —	{ Trim, Athboy, Navan, Kells, Duleek, Ratooth.
Monaghan, — — — —	— — — —	{ Monaghan.
Queen's County, — — — —	— — — —	{ Maryborough, Ballinakill, Port-Arlington.
Roscommon, — — — —	— — — —	{ Roscommon, Boyle, Tulsk.
Sligo, — — — —	— — — —	{ Sligo
Tipperary, — — — —	— — — —	{ Clonmel, Cashel, Fea- thard.
Tyrone, — — — —	— — — —	{ Dungannon, Strabane, Clogher, and Augher.
Waterford, — { City of Water-	ford.	{ Dungarvan, Tallow, and Lismore.
Westmeath, — — — —	— — — —	{ Athlone, Kileggan, Mul- lingar, Fore.
Wexford, — — — —	— — — —	{ Wexford, Ross, Ennis- corthy, Fethard, Gory, Bannow, Clomines, and Tagmon.
Wicklow, — — — —	— — — —	{ Wicklow, Baltinglass, Carysfort, Blessing- town.

Citizens, 7.—Knights, 33.—Burgesses, 32.—In all, 72.

Some Objections lye against so numerous a Meeting, as 72 or, 73 *Irish* Members, inserted into the *British* House of Commons, will make. Perhaps that is already too tumultuous an Assembly; if the Difficulty of doing Business is now great; the Inconveniency of 630 Members in one Room will make it greater.

The

The Method which occurs to overcome this, is by reducing the Number of *English* Members: What if those small Boroughs in *Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, &c.* were to return but one Member each, and so by paring away those rotten Parts of the *English* Constitution, Room was made for the Representatives of *Ireland*.

It may now be started, that there are near 100 Gentlemen belonging to the Law, one way or another, in the *Irish* House of Commons, and that by this Scheme, these will be drove to the Necessity either of quitting their Practice, or resigning their Honourable Seats in Parliament; this I own is such a Difficulty as I fear cannot be got over; for when I reflect, that the Business of the House of Commons, and for the most Part, all Debates in it, are carried on by them, as well as the framing all our Acts of Parliament, a Proposal of this Nature must be found by them, to be

so contrary to Law and Interest—that it will miscarry : For that those should join for a Union, whose Prosperity depends upon the Reverse, is too high an Expectation to be entertained in this Age.

In *Ireland*, the Misfortune is, that the People are too much composed of idle Gentry and Beggars, (the Proprietors of the greatest Estates being generally Absentees) these have a peculiar Tendency for Fraud and Strife, which occasions a considerable Gain for Lawyers ; and as the Nation is confined to little Trade, Persons of Estate (and particularly eldest Sons) are commonly bred to the Law, in order to make a Figure in their Country ; whereas, was a Union to come about, Commerce would be introduced in *Ireland*, People of Fortune would become Merchants and erect Companies, a substantial Yeomanry would arise, and the *Law*, which was originally designed for the Peace, Safety and Welfare of Society, might become
useful,

useful, instead of a Burthen, by returning to its primitive Purity, which, as Things go now, seems to be calculated chiefly for aggrandizing those only, who follow the *Practice* of it.—But I stop here, lest I rouse the Resentment of an Army, more formidable for Number and Power, than the Sea and Land Forces.

Some further Advantages to the United Kingdoms, are to be considered: Among these, I reckon as none of the Least, the Abolition of the *Irish Language and Customs*; for it is scarce to be imagined how much Popery, consequently, Ignorance and Superstition, Idleness and Poverty, is fed by this Language, if it deserves to be called so: The speaking of *Irish*, is artfully kept up by the Popish Priests abroad, as well as at home; and that the Protestant Interest suffers hereby, is evidenced, in those Places in *Ireland*, where Industry prevails by the Introduction of the *Linen Manufacture*.

By

By these Islands being formed into one Society, and being one People, the Calamities which our Ancestors have undergone, by perpetual Wars, and the Dangers we are exposed to, in a separate State, would be prevented. As we have all the Happiness to be under the same King, let us have one Language, one Law, one Religion, and one Interest together; and the still *modern* Distinction between *English*, *Scotch* and *Irish* Men, extinguished.

The Happiness and Glory of these Islands being chiefly in my View, it will be to the Purpose to prove, that a Union would increase the Number of the People, (I confine myself now to *Ireland*): And surely to rescue the common Natives of this Kingdom from the most abject Condition, little above Brutes, both in their Circumstances of Mind and Body, is a Work both of Humanity and Utility. But more glorious will it be, instead of Thousands, young and old, perishing in a Year, through
Misery

Misery and Inattention, which might be saved ; and other Thousands forsaking their Home, to get into foreign Service, and so become Enemies to their Country ; I say to have Multitudes of Wretches preserved, and enabled to enjoy the Blessings Providence has placed around them ; and these by Common Prudence, in a short time, to be converted into double the Number of industrious People, and useful Subjects ; one would think Christianity, as well as Policy, would direct herein.

To illustrate this Matter, I will put down the common People of *Ireland*, at a Million ; how few of these are useful to themselves and the Public, is seen by the universal State of Poverty, Diseases and Begging throughout the whole Country. Allow, that of the whole People, Half die under five Year old ; say, that Half of these would die by the Course of Nature ; if Provision was made for these Creatures, by which I mean, if Trade was circulated through the

the interior Parts of *Ireland*, and Foundling Hospitals erected in every Province, or rather in every large Town, more than three fifths of the Children might be preserved, under careful Management and Inoculation. I am sorry I cannot take my Proof of this from our *Poor-house*, erected in *Dublin*; but those wise and glorious Institutions, the *Foundling-Hospitals* of *London*, *Paris* and other Cities, demonstrate this; for Instance, in the *Royal Hospital* at *Lisbon*, out of 1251 Foundlings (maintained by the King, without Knowledge of their Parents) in the Year 1718, there died 469, † remained 782. So that if the Poor was employed, and Care was taken to punish the Wicked and Lazy, to provide for the Diseased, and nurture the Young, the Number of the Natives of *Ireland* would be exceedingly encreased; for Trade would beget Industry, Industry Wealth, and Wealth

† See the Abridgment of the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. vi. Part 4, upon the Bills of Mortality of several considerable Towns of *Europe*.

Wealth begets Cleanliness and Health ; and consequently if that Maxim is true, that the Number of People is a Gain, the State will be advantaged by the Addition of Subjects. Q. E. D.

Another Advantage accruing to *Ireland*, by its being United.—The Duty upon *French* Wine would be high as in *England*, whereby the extravagant Use of it in *Ireland*, which enriches *France* and impoverishes Us, would be laid aside; for is it not Infamous, that Claret should be so universally drank as it is by the middle sort of People of *Ireland*, I mean by such as Tradesmen, and those from one Hundred to three or four Hundred Pounds a Year Income, at their Clubs, Corporation Feasts, and Meetings; insomuch that there are more Wine Merchants in *Dublin*, than in *London*. By the Way, I cannot but observe that it is an *Irish* Bull, to drink Prosperity to *Ireland*, in *French* Claret; when we should drink the Liquors of our own Growth, which are capable of being excellent if we pleased? This

This leads me to another Observation, *viz.* By lessening the Importation of *French* Commodities, and a free Trade opened with *Great-Britain*, the Officers of the Revenue need not to be half the Number that they are, which would be a great Ease to the Establishment, and a great deal of Slavery and Immorality removed; for in the Manner that the Business of the Revenue is carried on, a Custom-House is too much become a Jest, to the great Scandal of Religion.

It is much to be lamented, that the Officers of the King's Revenue have not been more circumspect in granting Licenses for vending Wine, Ale, and Spirits: The Act of Parliament requires, that Persons keeping Public Houses, should be of good Reputation, and give Security; instead of this, what profligate, vile People are permitted for the Sake of encreasing that Revenue.

It is computed that the Number of low Ale-Houses and Brandy-Shops, in the City of *Dublin*, is doubled within these

these 12 Years, and as it is observed that the Persons who set up these Ale Houses and Shops generally are so the vilest Sort, so may they be truly said to be Nurseries of Debauchery,—Diseases,—Poverty,—Theft and Murder. It may therefore be thought necessary to give a Cheque to those Birds of Prey, who vend the most pernicious Liquors, detrimental as well to the *Health*, as to the *Morals* of the lower Sort of People.

First. By imposing a smart additional Tax upon Ale Houses, and Brandy Shops.

Secondly. Limiting their Number in each Parish.

Thirdly. Not permitting them to have their Houses open after Nine or Ten o'Clock at Night.

I return from this Digression to the next Article to be considered, which is the general Practice of Smuggling upon all our Coasts; this is an Evil that is grown to the most dangerous Height, and without doubt would be suppressed by the Means of an Union, if at

the same Time that *Cancer* in the Breast of *Great-Britain*, the *Isle of Man*, was annexed to the Crown, by its being purchased as the *Scotch* Jurisdictions were, and instead of the present Proprietary Government there, a Military Governor to be appointed by the King, with a proper Garrison to keep the Island in order: A Paragraph in the Public Papers lately, represents this Matter so well to my Purpose, that I must insert it here.

‘ The *Isle of Man* from the Nature
 ‘ of its Situation, and illicit Trade,
 ‘ which has been carried on there suc-
 ‘ cessfully for a Series of Years, ex-
 ‘ tremely affects the Landed, as well as
 ‘ the Trading Interest of *Great-Britain*,
 ‘ and from its furnishing our formida-
 ‘ ble Enemies the *French*, as well as
 ‘ many other foreign Nations with a
 ‘ convenient and capacious Magazine
 ‘ for depositing prodigious Quantities of
 ‘ Goods, which pay a high Duty in
 ‘ *Great-Britain*, for the conveniency
 ‘ of

‘ of Smuggling them from thence to
 ‘ the adjacent Coasts of *England, Scot-*
 ‘ *land, Wales, and Ireland*; it may with
 ‘ great Propriety be said to be a per-
 ‘ petual Enemy to the Crown, and
 ‘ Kingdoms of *Great-Britain*; and as
 ‘ in Time of War it does not furnish
 ‘ the least Assistance to *Great-Britain*,
 ‘ for the Protection of its own Trade
 ‘ with foreign Nations, so at all Times
 ‘ it employs the very Protection it re-
 ‘ ceives from the Crown, to the Dimi-
 ‘ nution of its Revenues, and to the ma-
 ‘ nifest Detriment of the fair Trader:
 ‘ How great a Nuisance is it become to
 ‘ a *British* Constitution, and what pub-
 ‘ lick Evil can be more worthy of a
 ‘ Parliamentary Cure.

Nature has furnished these Islands
 with two inexhaustible Stocks, a rich
 inland Soil, and a fertile Sea Coast;
 the want of Attention to these two
 grand Points in *Ireland*, would incline
 one to Imagine that there was some Pe-
 culiarity in the Air, or somewhat else

which has an Effect upon the Understanding, and Conduct of the Inhabitants of this Land, in so much, that any Measure that is undertaken for the Benefit of it seldom comes to Perfection. Talk to the Gentlemen of *Ireland*, they lay down excellent Schemes for the Advantage of the Country, and even set out well about them, at the same Time, there is no Place, where for want of Public Spirit, National Affairs are more neglected, and Undertakings drop in the Execution; else why are our *Rivers*, (which are so well disposed by Nature for our Benefit) not made *Navigable*? after the immense Sums raised for the Purpose; that Corn, Firing, &c. might be transported from the distant Counties to good Markets? Why are not the People on the Coast, instead of being Smugglers, employed in the Fishing Trade? which would return so much Wealth, feed the Poor, and also be a Seminary of Sailors to mann the Fleet.

Is it really the Case, that *Dutchmen* alone are capable of these Works, or are we to waite till the *French King* has made himself Lord of *Holland*, to set about, in earnest, the Improvement of our Inland Navigation and Fisheries: If so, *Ireland* must be the Barrier against *France*. An anonymous Writer says,
 ‘ that *Ireland* alone, has more good Ports
 ‘ and Bays, and a larger Sea Coast, than
 ‘ all *France*, and lies far more convenient for Trade; and if it was improved to its full native Capacity, after
 ‘ a Union, it will maintain an equal,
 ‘ if not superior Trade to *France*, and
 ‘ consequently equal, if not exceed it, in
 ‘ its Maritime Power; upon the whole,
 ‘ if all National Priviledges now enjoyed by each Kingdom, were communicated to all the Subjects of the whole
 ‘ Empire by a *General Naturalization*,
 ‘ and a free *Trade* opened between
 ‘ Kingdom and Kingdom, and after we
 ‘ have some Years raped the Advantages
 ‘ of it, we may reasonably hope to see
 ‘ the

‘ the present Number of our *Ships* and
‘ *Seamen* doubled.’

The late Bankruptcies have afforded an Opportunity of knowing the poor Condition *Ireland* is in, and the Necessity there is for some Measures to be taken to prevent our Destruction ; something must be done to secure Public Credit, and not to have it in the Power of any private Bankers, or a Cashire, to produce a general Calamity, by trading away the Cash of the Kingdom.

’Till we can be so happy as to have a *Royal Bank and a Mint*, should not the Bankers be obliged to lodge Securities with the Commissioners of the *Revenue*, or the *Treasury*, for their Integrity and Fortune to be intrusted with the circulating Cash of the Nation.

This Country has suffered much by the Cunning of Bankers ; in the Tricks they have played from time to time with the Coin ; and as the Remittances to the Absentees passes through them, and that mysterious Affairs of Exchange
is

is regulated by them ; they are the earliest acquainted with the State of the Credit of the Nation, and all the Use made of this Knowledge, is to their own private Advantage.

It is not to be concluded, because there is a large Ballance in the *Treasury of Ireland*, that the Country is rich, the very Reverse is the Case ; whence does this imaginary Wealth arise ?—— Principally from the large and unnecessary Importation of *French* Wines and Commodities : so that the supporting an Army of 12000 Men in *Ireland*, is at the same time (perhaps) maintaining *a like Number in France* to oppose them. Such is the Effect of *French* Politicks, which indulges us with such Quantities of their Goods to enable us to pay the Establishment. Here I will take an Opportunity to remark, that some think, *Ireland* is a Soil much fitter for the cultivation of the *Arts of Peace*, than War.

After

After all that has been wrote or said, and all that can be thought of, for the Benefit of *Ireland*, nothing can be of Service, till a Tax is laid upon the Absentees; I mean those only that are properly so, and not every one that may chance to have an Estate in this Kingdom. This under certain Limitations, is a Thing so just, and according to Law, that it will be the most remarkable Partiality to obstruct it; notwithstanding that Rule holds true, that all great and sudden Changes are commonly dangerous, where the Body natural, or Politic is in perfect State of Health, but when there is a Declining, then to make no Alteration, is a certain way to Ruin.

A Union, without doubt, would make a considerable Change in the Condition of Places, *Dublin* would perhaps be abridged, but then all the Country, and the Southern, and Western Ports, particularly, would flourish. The Case is, that the Head is too large, which naturally brings on Distempers upon the
Body

Body and Limbs. This Metropolis is the Refort of all Sort of Idlers, so that a Union would relieve this Disorder, and Health, Freedom and Wealth would be circulated through the whole: By an open Trade, the Value of Land will be greater, our Coal and other Mines wrought, our Bogs drained, and so by the Introduction of an industrious Race, the Enjoyment of the four Elements will be greater in *Ireland*. Upon the Whole, from the Encrease of our Power, and Wealth, which must necessarily follow upon a well-grounded Union, *Great-Britain* will be better able to hold the Ballance and maintain the Peace of *Christendom*, and support the Interest of Religion and Liberty all over *Europe*: And the State would gain a noble Acquisition, and might properly be stiled—*The Empire of the West*.

Dublin, 17th of March, 1755.

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ments will be greater in Ireland. Upon
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Power, and which must needs
fairly follow, will be grounded Un-
der a Great Extent will be better able to
hold the Balance and maintain the
Peace of Europe, and support the
Interest of Religion and Liberty all over
Europe: And the State would gain a
noble Acquisition, and might properly
be filled with the best of the World.



Dublin, 15th of March, 1755.

W. P.

